42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones.

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards.

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before.

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby.

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg
Northern Filipinos OA19

ment, so that as far as I understand the Isneg mind, a living child will result more to the satisfaction of everybody concerned than a dead one.

I just stated that to the Isneg all children were welcome; this should, however, be understood of children who come into the world unaccompanied: twins (*sinin*; also called *nagdappilan*, from *dappil*, "being pressed against one another face to face") are a different matter. Except in the case of the Negritos, I have not met with a single Filipino tribe who had not one or more superstitious beliefs connected with the birth of twins, and in case of pagan tribes worse than that.

While I was living among the Iloko, who have been Christians for many centuries, I heard them say more than once that a woman would not eat a double banana (two in one skin), lest she bear twins; and it often became a matter of jest when a double banana appeared either at the table or otherwise, whenever some young woman, whether married or single, was present. All this goes to show that the Iloko consider that the birth of twins is, to say the least, not a thing to be desired. This is nothing else but the remnant of a former belief, as will be proved presently in the case of the pagan tribes

In general among the pagan tribes all over the Mountain Province, the natives kill one of twins, and to this rule the Isneg are no exception It is only natural that in many instances this custom tends to disappear, as the natives have to reckon with the vigilance of the authorities, but nevertheless the custom is still there, and it is a very deep-rooted one. I know of only two cases of living twins among the Isneg and they came to my notice only very recently, whereas I know positively that the custom of killing one of twins exists at least in the municipal district of Conner and in that of Kabugaw, while there is no reason to believe that it does not exist actually, or at least did not exist originally and until recently, among the inhabitants of the other municipal districts.

In the municipal district of Conner, pagan girls who had received a superior education told us freely that in case they gave birth to twins they would never allow both children to live. In the municipal district of Kabugaw not so long ago a male child, one of twins, was killed at Alumani, and I know of a similar case in another locality.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the infant is buried alive immediately after birth; this was told me by my informants, and so it happened in the Alumani case. Either of the two may be chosen

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines: Apayao OA5 Isneg

Insiso (M), at Lukab: after Mr. Enciso, a municipal treasurer.
Kóner (M), at Nagbabalayan, at Ripang and at Tawit: after Mr. Norman G. Connor, the second lieutenant-governor of Apayaw.
Liñan (M), at Bolo: a soldier.
Makánas (M), at Bolo: a nurse.
Mina (M), a Bolo: formerly connected with the Bureau of Public Works.
Siddáyáw (M), at Nagbabalayan: soldier.
Tagubá (M), at Bolo and at Tawit: a nurse.

Titles:

Bakonadór (M), at Nagsimbanan: vaccinator (Spanish: *vacunador*).
Pórman (M), at Bubulayan: the title by which the chief inspector of roads is known all over the district
Kábo (M), at Nagbabalayan: corporal (Spanish: *cabo*)
Meistará (F), at Abbil, at Maduang and at Kabetayan (Kabugaw): lady teacher (Spanish: *maestra*).

Just to show how little the Isneg sometimes care for the kind of name that is given to their offspring, I merely mention here the name *Sentávo* (Spanish *centavo*, a copper coin worth one half cent), which is most certainly not a very precious one. You can meet a Mr. *Sentávo* at Madatag and one at Ampaw.

In general it must be said that a definite set of names is the exclusive property of boys, and that another set is particular to girls. Nevertheless it may happen that a certain name is given to boys in some localities, while in others the same one is given to girls.

So we have *Asáp*, which is the name of three girls I know, one at Nagilian (Namaltugan), one at Madatag, and one at Alumani, while a Baliwanan boy is called by the same name.

Bañón: two girls: one at Magapta and one at Waga; a boy at Talifugu.

Éba: a girl at Lukab; a boy at Karagawan.

Luwé-: a girl at Nagbabalayan; a boy at Lako.

Ósañ: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

Pílí: a girl at Nagbabalayan; boy at Maduang.

At Nagbabalayan there is a man called *Báñan*, which is the name of the most popular heroine of Kankanay tales.

But such coincidences are of comparatively rare occurrence.

And now I come to the question of changing the name given at birth. All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans,

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

553 among Iloko and Kagayan who have been Christians for centuries, as well as among the tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province and some 171 of whom have started embracing Christianity only comparatively recently, the Negritos alone excepted, the custom of changing the name of a person at the time of prolonged or dangerous sickness is almost universal, to the dismay of Government officials and Church dignitaries, as such a practice brings nothing but confusion in the records, especially among pagan tribes, who have not yet adopted family names and continue to give each individual his own special personal name. I have discussed sufficiently the ideas of the Isneg about the matter, at the beginning of my treatment about Isneg names, without having to explain them any further, but some other points should be considered here.

553 Some Isneg keep their original name all through life, others have 551 it changed once or twice, rarely more often. The change usually takes place in infancy, more rarely in youth, and no ceremonies seem to be connected with the same: everything happens as in the case of the giving of the first name immediately after birth. It may happen also, in a few isolated cases, that a man or a woman of mature age gets or takes another name. So, at Kumaw, a girl called *Uńáy* gave the name of her father as *Bélan*, at the time of her baptism, a few years ago, while that same man is known all over the municipal district as *Okkóń*. Although it seems that the fellow must already have been called *Okkóń* at the time of the baptism of his daughter, who was married recently, his old name *Bélan* must have clung to him for a long time, otherwise his daughter would not have known it.

The most important reason for changing a name is, as has been stated repeatedly, the sickness of the child (*séno mowí ya takít*, "so that sickness go away") A few Isneg have their name changed once or twice merely through caprice, whether it be a whim of their own or one of their parents (in case they are still small): a certain name comes to their mind, for one reason or another that name catches their fancy and ends by pleasing them, and away goes the old name; the new name will be adopted from now on as the distinctive appellation of the girl or boy in question.

551 At least in the municipal district of Conner, and perhaps also 768 elsewhere, a very serious reason for changing the name of a baby is the death of one of its parents. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the Isneg have a certain fear of the dead and usually prefer that they stay where they are: they do not want them to interfere

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg
Northern Filipinos OA29

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were firmly convinced that I knew at least as much as they did. Fortunately my persistent efforts in that direction were finally crowned with success, and I came to learn that famous name, which was supposed to be known to all priests, but could not be pronounced by them except at the deathbed of one of their charges, and which was considered as the appellation of our Lady's mother: an old Iloko woman whispered it to me after I had promised her very solemnly that I took all responsibility upon myself, and after I had assured her most emphatically that no harm would accrue to her on account of her indiscretion.

Now that name was, as she pronounced it, *Adúnay*, nothing else but a Hebrew name for God, correctly Adonai. The next Sunday I announced from the pulpit that the whole story was humbug pure and simple, and to prove it I pronounced the name and explained it. All the time I could observe several old women in the congregation who did nothing but cross themselves whenever I pronounced that "sacred" name: they were probably very much concerned about my safety and thought perhaps that I should fall dead at any moment. But had I been able to eradicate this absurd superstition once for all, at least among my own people? Not a bit. The women were ready at once with explanations of their own: my case was a special one; anybody else of course who dared pronounce that name would die a certain death. Maybe they thought that I carried some famous amulet on my person, something which was known only to me and which would preserve me from all harm. Such an explanation on their part should not be wondered at, as I have been credited with bilocation, with the power of passing roaring torrents at a jump, and other nonsense.

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But to return to our Isneg: might it not be possible that there is some connection between the two beliefs? Indeed in both cases the penalty of death is supposed to follow in the wake of the pronunciation of a certain name: in the case of the Isneg, the pronunciation of the name of the father-in-law or the mother-in-law entails the death of the offender's offspring; in that of the Iloko, the person who dares pronounce out of season the name of the mother of our Lady is punished by death. It goes without saying that the latter belief cannot be justified by anything and is nothing else but gross superstition, as the Iloko have been Christians for centuries, and besides the belief in question could not have evolved into its present state except among a Christianized people.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sây-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sây-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abiik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
183 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
788 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
● 171 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
177 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
797 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
771 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
178 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same
184 time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
585 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
583 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
177 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the
178 parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.
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48: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
577 ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes, to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowledging their deception, even after it had become patent and after they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly. His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories; I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married, I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boar, bees, etc., besides timber, rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it, so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this, Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
183 compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
577 easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks
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42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

183 178 177 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

837 183 184 As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 183 171 836 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 183 685 858 867 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammân* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

577 867 158 183 811 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

577 158 183 811 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

1. Incentives to Marriage

581 And now let us inquire as to the reasons why Isneg young people want to marry. I shall leave out of consideration the mutual attraction of the sexes, which is certainly a potent inducement, if not the strongest of all, especially when one considers that according to the Isneg code men and women have no other legitimate way of gratifying themselves than by marrying. I shall confine myself to what I might call social reasons.

And first, with reference to the girls. Why does a girl want to marry? For one reason, it is the custom to do so. What is the use of a girl except to be at the disposition of a young man? Who would ever dream of refusing to comply with such a universal custom? Could it be possible for any girl not to enter the state of matrimony? Everybody does it, why not she? Another reason for her marrying is, I think, the craving for children, the desire of having a child of her own. Protection on the part of her husband may perhaps have been a strong factor in bygone times, when head-hunting was the rule, but at present such protection is hardly necessary and, I believe, rarely thought of. An Isneg girl marries because everybody does, because it is the custom, and I think this settles the matter as far as the fair sex is concerned. This state of mind is also well illustrated by the fact that many Isneg widows, at least if they are of a more or less advanced age, never remarry, especially when they have children of their own.

581 171 But with a man, the case is different. Indeed he has two very important reasons for wanting to take a wife, namely: the desire of begetting children, and the necessity of a woman to provide him with his livelihood. These two reasons, however, are not of equal weight, and besides, what is of paramount importance to the generality of the other tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province, as the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and so on, takes only second rank among the Isneg. To these other peoples the longing for children is the strongest motive for obtaining a wife, while the Isneg marry first of all in order to get somebody to provide the necessities of life for them. Leaving aside the daily conversation with natives, which have forcibly convinced me of the truth of the above statement, there are two social institutions which in the manner of their existence in Apayaw and taken together clearly prove it: these are polygamy and divorce.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Among the other tribes polygamy, in the form of polygyny of course, is very rare and almost entirely unknown, while among the Isneg it has become an integral part of their social organization. Although far from universal, it is still frequent enough to allow us to call it an institution, the more so that in the unwritten law of the Isneg we find actually a definite set of rules that govern the contracting of a subsequent marriage before the first one has been dissolved by death or divorce, the inheritance of children born to people living in polygamy, and so on. Expressions like the following, which may be heard very frequently all over Apayaw, go far to show that the Isneg wants the woman more than anything else: "We are poor . . . , we are to be pitied . . . , we are starving . . . , we have no food . . ." (and almost always) "because there are no women in the house . . . , because there is not a sufficient number of women around".

When at the same time we consider that the principal reason for divorce among the other Mountain tribes does not obtain in Apayaw, it becomes more patent that among the Isneg the question of children is only of secondary importance. Indeed among the Kankanay and others it is an almost universal custom for childless couples to separate and try their luck with somebody else, while among the Isneg the absence of children is no reason for divorce: this has been told me consistently by all my informants, and the facts are there to prove it. It is true that sterile marriages are comparatively few, but still they are numerous enough to allow us to see that the lack of children is not necessarily a sufficient reason for divorce. A Bolo man and his wife *Bannáw* have been married for over ten years and still no children are forthcoming. *Tabtábal* and his wife (also called *Bannáw*) at Lettuakan, *Tóriya* and his wife at Turatok, have been married for a long time without having had the pleasure of seeing children born to them. These places are all far apart from one another, and in no case is there even the hint of a possibility of divorce. The other Mountain tribes want the children first of all; to the Isneg, however, the women are more important than the offspring.

And so polygamy or rather polygyny has become an institution among the Isneg, not so much through the desire of the men to satisfy their sexual appetite, as through the absolute necessity of women in the household for economic reasons. As it is not my intention to make a survey of the whole subprovince of Apayaw, I shall

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

584 me by the girl herself, and she did not seem to take the whole affair as at all serious; she did not look as if she was inclined to allow the boy to take possession of her heart, let alone of her whole body.

Marriages between grown-up boys and girls that are arranged by the parents without consulting the interested parties, or at least without the said youngsters having taken the first steps in that direction, are much more frequent, and in many cases the young people readily agree, either because they are not so particular about the qualities of their future partner, provided there be one, or because they are otherwise loath to go against the wishes of their elders. But as in the case of infant marriages, objections on the part of either of the two may be sufficient to prevent either the first proposal or all further developments.

The usual way, however, among our Isneg, is that the young man looks for the girl of his choice, wins her consent, and then informs his parents about the matter. After that the elders of both boy and girl take upon themselves the responsibility of all further transactions and ceremonies.

581 Now what qualities are supposed to make the perfect girl in the
832 eyes of an Isneg boy, or at least what is the boy looking for in the
826 girl to whom he will give his heart? She should be handsome (*napiyd*)
461 of course, which means that her skin should be clean, smooth and light-colored; the darker the uglier, the whiter the prettier, is a common Isneg criterion. If possible she should be fat and plump; in the eyes of an Isneg, lean girls are not the acme of beauty. But all this is only of secondary importance; she should be *nalaggát*, "diligent, active", and that is more necessary than anything else: all other qualities are subordinate to this one, and the most handsome flirt will be discarded at once for a diligent girl, be she ever so ugly and as thin as a bean stalk.

And so also in the eyes of a girl, a boy be he ever so handsome (*natáram*),—a quality which however is never despised, provided it goes together with the most important one,—will never make a desirable husband if he is not *nalaggát*. He must not necessarily be a *mčúal*, a brave, but he should love work: that is what counts.

581 It might be wondered why the question of diligence is by far more
171 important among the Isneg than among other tribes, to whom other
461 qualities look much more valuable. Indeed in Bontok, for instance, at least formerly, a boy would rarely win a girl, if he had not yet shown some sign of courage, either by taking the head of an enemy

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date)-1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

or by some other brave deed. Why is love of work an almost necessary requisite in Apayaw, where the natives are renowned for their laziness? Or is this almost proverbial love of idleness the reason why future partners look for the contrary virtue in their mates? Is the boy perhaps convinced that he will never be able to earn a decent livelihood, if he is not assisted by a woman who is active and industrious? Does he perhaps know all too well that his hatred of exertion and hard work will never lead to anything, if the girl of his choice does not make up for his deficiencies? And does the Isneg girl perhaps look for an active husband as for a jewel of great price, knowing that the scarcer an object is, the costlier it becomes? I do not think so. The Isneg certainly lack all means of comparison between themselves and members of other tribes, and besides they rarely believe that they are lovers of leisure and idleness, as they usually resent very much hearing outsiders say so. I think that the whole question fits in with the social reason for marriage as given above. Boys marry in order to be helped by a woman, and so they necessarily look for an active one first of all; and girls know that they will carry a heavy burden, so they prefer somebody upon whom they can rely in time of need, somebody who will lend them a helping hand and do his full share as far as custom allows. This I believe to be the explanation of the whole situation.

As soon as a boy has attained the age at which marriage may be contemplated in the not too distant future, he passes most of his evenings at the house of marriageable girls, and he usually has little difficulty in knowing more or less intimately any girls that might possibly be conquered by him. He sees them at home, chats with them, sometimes plays with them, and, except when the parents of a girl definitely object to his suitability as a future partner for their daughter, even passes the night sleeping at their houses.

A few girls are real flirts (*aŋkár*); they are, as the Isneg puts it, fond of men, and if such a situation continues for a considerable time, without any prospect of marriage in the near future, they may become broken-hearted and even lose their minds. Nevertheless such cases are the exception, and active courtship (*mamabdy*, from the stem *babdy*, "woman") is generally the exclusive occupation of boys, while the girls, at least outwardly, usually seem to be very hard to please. But a boy has many ways of attracting the attention of the girls. Just to enumerate a few of them:

48: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

832 789 171 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not confined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Christianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*burôbur*, in Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel pepper. and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 824 278 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this information. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to identify as yet, are:

sagúbăy: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a girl's love;

tagalomá- and *tañnó-:* small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as explained above;

añimud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

oñam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under her nose so that she can smell it;

danórăn, tagiámo and *pa-paámo:* small herbs, the first two growing on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Amo* in the last two of these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa-: a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following recipe, which works both ways: If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other boy, gather a few *tuma-dáy* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

and the knees. Consequently the *maúlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *bazákat* (girdle), and the *laddóñ* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *maúlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *maúlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom; Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *maúlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *maúlakkát*'s apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *maúlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (*G* branch of *Ó* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Danglá (Main branch of *Ó* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *Ó* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch); at Abbil and Dibagat (*G* branch), and at Talifugu (*Bô* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtalunáb*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *rúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Ineg

587 888 887 171 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 587 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. Divorce

586 684 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce, and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 684 837 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 684 461 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

nawán. The privation, however, seems to be only temporary, as the Isneg are, so far as I know, unanimous in declaring that all *kaduduwá* finally reach the *Aglalannawán* country. It might be called eternal, or rather indefinite in time, only in case the *kaduduwá* would have either always to remain unclothed or clothed with old garments, or to continue to live separated from its relatives for lack of a guide to the abode of the latter: but I never heard anything explicit about that. I am of the opinion, that, according to Isneg belief, all *kaduduwá* in the end attain perfect bliss. I shall have to add a few points to the Isneg belief in a double retribution, when speaking about the *balañóbañ*.

Anyhow Isneg doctrine in this respect is very different from either Christian or Northern Luzon Negrito belief:

A Christian believes in heaven, happiness, for the good, and hell, privation and actual punishment, for the bad.

A Negrito believes in life above with the deity, happiness, for the good; and, for the bad, living somewhere on earth, privation without actual punishment, or, according to some informants, being thrown into the water, being unable to move, etc., thus privation with actual punishment.

An Isneg believes in a happy life in the *Aglalannawán*, at the other side of the *lablabbáñ* pond, happiness, for those whose *innát* or corpse has been duly prepared; and staying at this side of the *lablabbáñ* pond or living in partial poverty, at least temporarily, privation apparently without actual punishment, for those whose *innát* has been neglected in some way. Good and bad in man, according to the Isneg, seem to affect only the state of the body after death, as will be explained in detail when referring to the *balañóbañ*, and not that of the *kaduduwá* or immortal spirit.

Here should be noted a curious belief which I found only among the Isneg living in and around Awan (municipal district of Bayag). Not far from Awan is a place called *Nagsiñgowán*. The *kaduduwá* of anybody who dies in the neighborhood is supposed to pass at this place, dressed in full regalia, and if it is a man, carrying shield and spear. In case that *kaduduwá* asks for food at somebody's house, one of the inmates immediately accedes to its request, but as it is only a ghost, the food is not put into its mouth, but merely pushed against its chin. The *kaduduwá* always seems quite pleased anyhow, and continues its journey, but has barely gone along for a short while, when it invariably disappears.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Ineg

they are fatalists to a large extent, but I have assisted at many death-beds, and, although the shouting and lamenting that goes on after a person's demise are certainly a part of what might be called a customary rite, I am bound to disagree with the statement regarding the supposed absence or shallowness of grief. As evidence, I shall merely adduce two concrete examples. 763 201

In August 1930 a little Iloko (Christian) girl of from four to five years old died in the house where I was receiving hospitality at the time. The mother lamented as usual as soon as the child had breathed its last. But for hours before, she had been squatting near her little daughter, weeping silently most of the time, and occasionally giving vent to her feelings in a subdued voice through expressions like these: "Ah, my child . . . my little Udiang (Claudia) is gone . . . . would that I might die instead . . . . why do you leave your mother? . . . ." Who would dare assert that there was no real and profound grief in that mother's heart?

In May 1924 I happened to enter the house of a Kalinga (pagan) who had just died. A score of women were making a frightful scene, squatting around the dead body and yelling to their utmost; but in a corner of the hut the wife of the dead man was standing all alone and by herself, weeping and sobbing almost inaudibly. Who would believe that the widow's grief was only superficial and that her whole behavior was part of a make-believe?

The question is that under such circumstances a casual looker-on may be led to view only one part of the scene, the one that strikes his eyes and ears the most powerfully; but an unbiased observer must not forget to note even unobtrusive details, and only then will he be able to judge rightly about the matter.

With some tribes it is customary for those who assist a dying person repeatedly to press the latter's throat with their fingers, just as if they wanted to help him choke to death. This, however, is not practised by the Isneg. 763 171

It should be noted in this connection that an Isneg husband or wife, while lamenting his or her partner, always uses the term *kokóboń* (Bolo, Musimut, etc.) or *óboń* (Dangla, etc.), "partner", not the usual term *atáwa*, "husband, wife". 763 195

If it should happen that a person dies in the absence of his parents, in case these are still living, the latter are said to be *malibdân*. The stem *libât* means "leaving unawares, without notice". 763

42: Vanoverbergh E-2 (no date) 1236-1 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
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766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *isndt* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

764 171 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matáydn*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-ndn*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the bereaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balańóbáń* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions proves a very strong attraction to some of the [illegible], and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makisónat* or *meparinnatáy*) and 764 participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real sacrifices (*pildáp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *manonito* is per- 782

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some but-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábûg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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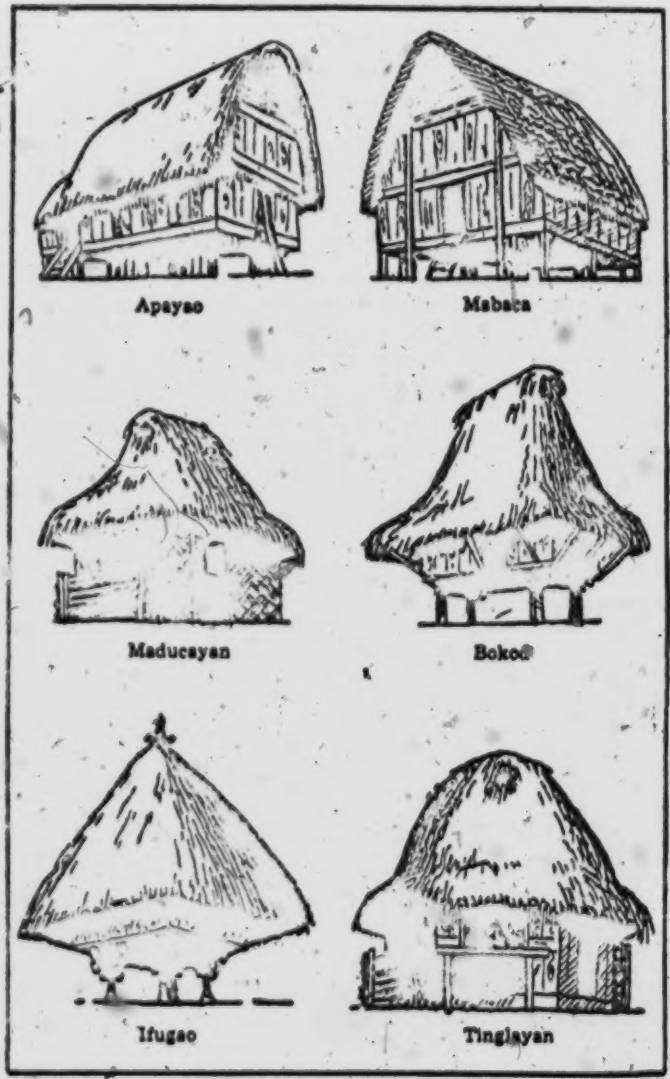

Fig. 1. — Representative houses of the Mountain Province.